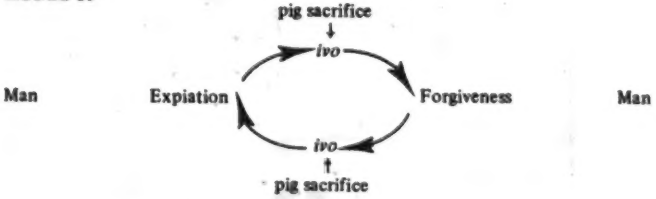
5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

782 sacrifice is a communion, as the obtaining of *ivo* is ultimately dependent upon an
574 effective identification of man with the power-conferring ancestors.
571 Models 23 and 24 may be reduced to a single one which shows the essence of
431 the whole transaction:

MODEL 25



571 This model, which is on a more abstract level than the previous two, states
778 that two parties standing in a relation of social opposition can establish or restore friendly association with one another through the *mediation* of *ivo* (the source of *ivo* being the pig sacrifices). This is the essential equation of social exchange. *Ivo* cannot be obtained by the offerers of sacrifice acting alone, but it is necessary and sufficient for efficacy if two parties participate, one in the role of offerer and another in the role of recipient. The roles of 'offender' and 'offended' are ritual roles in which the actual amount of guilt or shame felt varies widely according to circumstances. The assumption of such roles is made
● [828] necessary because strife has a continuously debilitating effect on man's *ivo*. Like many other peoples (viz. Monica Wilson 1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217; Burridge 1969), the Orokaiva believe that 'anger in the heart' weakens the man who feels it. But the Orokaiva emphasise even more the obligation of the offender to assuage that anger, however caused. Actual misfortunes are mostly explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, after being made aware of this anger, does nothing to remove it. If the angry person uses sorcery or does some other harm it is not he but the victim
[574] of retribution who should feel guilty. The oozing away of *ivo* as a result of strife can be reversed by the holding of pig-feasts at which the host goes through a ritual which contains elements of both communion and expiation, but which essentially serves the mediation of social exchange.

121 I shall now test the usefulness of this model by using it to account for some
128 empirical facts related to Orokaiva pig sacrifice. I shall discuss, because of the relative wealth of available material, the sacrifices made at inter-village feasts at the time of the main harvest. I shall also show how gifts made between affines may be interpreted with the help of the model.

6. *Expiation and Communion in Feasting*

574 The decision to hold a feast might arise in two ways. First, there might be an
[628] urgent need to offer the feast to a specific outside group, e.g. to make peace, or return a feast to which the group had been invited. Secondly, there might be a
[556]